

SIT Graduate Institute/SIT Study Abroad SIT Digital Collections

Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection

SIT Study Abroad

Fall 2015

How South Africa's Collective Memory of the ANC's Armed Struggle Has Shaped Political Allegiances and National Identity in Modern South Africa

Will Corvin

SIT Graduate Institute - Study Abroad

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection



Part of the [Political Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Corvin, Will, "How South Africa's Collective Memory of the ANC's Armed Struggle Has Shaped Political Allegiances and National Identity in Modern South Africa" (2015). *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*. 2164.
https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/2164

This Unpublished Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the SIT Study Abroad at SIT Digital Collections. It has been accepted for inclusion in Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection by an authorized administrator of SIT Digital Collections. For more information, please contact digitalcollections@sit.edu.

"How South Africa's Collective Memory of the ANC's Armed Struggle Has Shaped Political
Allegiances and National Identity in Modern South Africa"

Will Corvin
Advisor: Kiru Naidoo
School for International Training
South Africa: Social and Political Transformation
Fall 2015

Table of Contents

Dedication	3
Acknowledgements	4
Abstract	5
Introduction	6
Literature Review	8
Methodology	20
Findings and Analysis	22
Introduction	22
“Insulted our Common Humanity”	23
“A Constitution that Entrenches Humane Rights and Values”	32
“The Violent Political Conflict in the Course of which Human Rights were Violated” ..	42
Conclusion	49
Conclusions	51
Limitations	53
Recommendations	54
Bibliography	56
Appendices	59

Dedication

This project is dedicated to my parents - Scott and Valerie Corvin. Thank you for teaching me to embrace learning for its inherent value. Your constant encouragement and support have incubated the deep intellectual curiosity within me, without which I never could have written this paper.

Acknowledgements

Thank you Kiru Naidoo, my ISP advisor. I appreciate the reading recommendations, the interviewee contact information, and that one Steers© burger that you bought for me. Most importantly, I appreciate your time and patience, as you are a very busy man and had very little room in your schedule for an American student.

Thank you to my Cato Manor, Dokodwene, and Newlands West homestay families. You all provided the warmth and security that was necessary for me to feel comfortable and thrive in this new environment. The experiences I have had in your homes have engendered some of the most formative moments of my experience in South Africa.

Thank you to my interviewees. All of you showed incredible flexibility and openness to answer my interview questions. You gave me idiosyncratic insight into the collective memory and history of South Africa's armed struggle, which could not have been found hidden amongst the pages of any book or peer-reviewed journal.

Thank you SIT: Social and Political Transformation staff: Imraan, Scott, Shola, and Sdu. You all have worked tirelessly to provide me with the best education and experience that South Africa has to offer. I will always be grateful for what you have taught me and the time we have spent together.

Abstract

This paper focuses on how certain narratives from the ANC's armed struggle are "lived out" through modern South Africans' political allegiances and concepts of national identity. This article starts by discerning which strands of history the popular narrative of the armed struggle fails to adequately acknowledge. From there, the research analyzes how those forgotten narratives have impacted South Africans' faith in the ANC government and path toward becoming a reconciled, rainbow nation. The data indicates that a more inclusive narrative of the ANC's armed struggle is necessary for the country to attain its goals of becoming a nonracial, reconciled democracy built upon entrenched Constitution values.

Introduction

Twenty-one years after the establishment of a new democracy, the memory of the ANC's armed struggle is still fresh in South Africans' memories. The anti-apartheid resistance of Mandela and MK give legitimacy to the ANC, which has enjoyed a ruling majority since 1994. Nonetheless, there are several strands of MK's history that have not been fully acknowledged, and South Africans must recognize these trends to understand the history behind the party that has dominated modern South African politics. Additionally, a closer look at MK and the ANC's efforts while in exile can reveal the core values that freedom fighters fought for, which are quite likely the same values that South Africans identify with today. The need to create a more complete history of the armed struggle is time-sensitive. Surviving veterans of MK along with victims of apartheid must tell their stories before those narratives are lost forever. Likewise, free-borns must challenge their preconceptions about the ANC's armed struggle because their understanding of the past will shape the future of the country.

The objective of this paper is to analyze the popular narrative of the armed struggle and the implications that narrative has on modern-day South Africans' sense of identity and their political affiliations. Specifically, the focus will be on South Africa's psychological development toward becoming a nonracial nation, the economic principles of the past and present that affect modern political allegiances, and the process of reconciliation through understanding and hearing individuals' anecdotes of the past. At times, the narrative of the armed struggle that this paper discusses may closely resemble a narrative of Nelson Mandela. This is unavoidable for several reasons, the most salient of which being the salience that South Africans place on Mandela's contributions to the anti-apartheid movement. To honestly write about the collective memory of

the armed struggle, much less the anti-apartheid movement as a whole, one must consider the gravity of Mandela's mark on the South African consciousness. The narrative of the armed struggle will imitate a narrative of Mandela also because he formed the ANC's armed wing in 1961. He then became the new democracy's first president during a time when the apartheid era had just ended, and the memories of which could finally be woven into a singular narrative.

This paper has three sections, each inspired by a few excerpts from a speech that Mandela gave on the TRC report of 1998. Mandela uses this section of his speech to rebuke the human rights violations of the apartheid government and state that things will be different in the new democracy. These three excerpts will be analyzed to uncover the popular and forgotten narratives behind their history in relation to the ANC's armed struggle. That history will give readers an insight on how the dominant narratives of the armed struggle have helped to perpetuate those same human rights violations from continuing into present day. I will conclude each section with a recommendation on how the history of the armed struggle could be amended to help the country address the relevant lingering tensions from the apartheid era.

Literature Review

Introduction

In any nation, collective memory and reflections on history produce ubiquitous narratives that unify the citizens under a common belief, value, or political ideology. In the United States, for example, that narrative is the American Dream - that anyone can realize financial success through hard work and ingenuity. In South Africa, that narrative is the fresh memory of the anti-apartheid movement, when thousands of South Africans, through violent and nonviolent means, fought for a peaceful, nonracial community. Yet, lost in the twilight of reconciliation are several narratives within the anti-apartheid movement, specifically within its armed struggle, that have been neglected by history. Twenty-one years after the formation of the new, ANC-dominated democracy, it is time to examine the overlooked narratives of the armed struggle that have been lost in the emergent political structure and national identity.

Historians Jabulani Sithole and Sibongiseni Mkhize make an important distinction on the process of examining unpopular narratives in their article “Truth or Lies? Selective Memories, Imaginings, and Representations of Chief Albert John Luthuli in Recent Political Discourses.” Before dissecting the different trends within popular memories of Luthuli, the historians write that they are not trying to distinguish between the “truths” and “lies” in Luthuli’s legacy because the “secrets and silences about aspects of his political life would make it difficult for anyone to establish the veracity of competing memories which have been produced around his name.”¹ Rather, Sithole and Mkhize “argue that many “Luthulis” were produced for different purposes and at different times during this period.”² Later in this paper, I will wait to examine the

¹ Jabulani Sithole and Sibongiseni Mkhize, “Truth or Lies? Selective Memories, Imaginings, and Representations of Chief Albert John Luthuli in Recent Political Discourses,” *History and Theory* 39 (December 2000): 69.

² Ibid 70.

conflicting memories of Luthuli. Nonetheless, I feel that it is imperative for me to start by clarifying that I do not intend to differentiate between truths and lies. Rather, I wish to illuminate the many representations of the South African armed struggle against apartheid to provide a deeper insight on modern South Africans' political allegiances and national identity.

Significance

The importance of analyzing South Africa's popular memories of the armed struggle is demonstrated by American historian Howard Zinn's criticisms of the American revolution in the eighteenth century. Zinn has made a career of depicting American history from underrecognized viewpoints, including by analyzing the founding fathers from a proletariat perspective. Zinn claims that creating "a symbol, a legal unity called the United States," allowed the founding fathers to have popular support in their quest to "take over land, profits, and political power from favorites of the British Empire."³ With this statement, Zinn is claiming that the American elites undertook the Revolution in order to usurp British colonists as the new ruling class. According to Zinn, the rhetoric of "freedom and liberty for all" was only a hollow promise to placate the masses. Such a claim seems heretical, as the thought of criticizing the integrity of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams is almost unthinkable to many American citizens. Nonetheless, Zinn makes a logical argument that the founding fathers did not actually fight for genuinely universal freedom, as they "certainly did not want an equal balance between slaves and masters, propertyless and property holders, Indians and white."⁴ While the constitution seems to avoid addressing the freedom of slaves and Indians, Zinn's claims that the "propertyless" also did not deserve equal treatment deserves further scrutiny. Zinn is most likely

³ "A people's history of the American revolution," Howard Zinn, accessed October 28, 2015, <https://libcom.org/history/peoples-history-american-revolution>.

⁴ "A people's history of the American revolution."

referencing the fact that the constitution did not allow propertyless men the same privileges, like the right to vote at the founding of the nation. The deprivation of voting rights implies that the constitution created an institution that undermined, and may still undermine, the rights and the political efficacy of impoverished citizens. Unlike Zinn, I am not arguing that the founding fathers neglected the needs of the masses when creating the United States. Rather, I believe that all human beings tend to take benefits for themselves when in positions of power, and that certain structures were put in place to protect the founding fathers' interests. While each country should honor the sacrifice and vision of their revolutionaries, gratitude is not an excuse to glorify the past and overlook the modern-day shortcomings of an unrealized ideal. For better or worse, the American tradition of honoring its founders is already deeply ingrained, but South Africans still have the power to sculpt the history of their armed struggle that will be passed down to future generations.

Professor Philippe Denis claims that oral history has the potential to act as a catharsis for the victims of apartheid, but makes a distinction between oral history and oral tradition. Oral tradition, according to cited Belgian anthropologist, Jan Vensina, is the phase when "stories are passed from mouth to mouth for a period of time beyond the lifetime of the people."⁵ The legacy of the ANC's armed struggle still falls under the category of oral history, and the country must make the effort now to provide catharsis for the survivors and clarity for the free-borns. The liberation movement gave birth to a whole new set of identities in South Africa - socially, politically, and culturally, and oral history has "the potential to affirm and consolidate identities, individual as well as collective."⁶ It is important to remember one more of Denis's points when

⁵ Philippe Denis, "Oral History in a Wounded Country," in *Orality Literacy and Colonialism in Southern Africa*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper. (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2003), 205.

⁶ Denis, "Oral History in a Wounded Country," 209.

considering the oral history of the armed struggle, which is that, to a large degree, “We choose what we remember and what we forget.”⁷ Although certain memories may be more painful than others, honoring and remembering those strands of history can only benefit future generations that will learn, through oral tradition, the history of their nation and the meaning of what it is to be South African. I hope to elucidate and find the meaning behind those lost strands of history that, for some reason or another, many South Africans have chosen to forget.

Oral history’s glorification of the South African armed struggle may be unfounded for more reasons than Howard Zinn’s claims of misleading narratives. Professor at the Australian National University, John Braithwaite, cites Erica Chenoweth’s study showing “that nonviolent civilian resistance to regimes is twice as likely as armed struggle to succeed.”⁸ Braithwaite uses this study to claim that the ANC became ineffectual after its shift away from nonviolent resistance and toward an armed struggle after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. According to Braithwaite, the anti-apartheid movement’s impotence ended only a decade and a half after the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) when “a new generation of union activists began to agitate first in Durban, and new student leaders emerged to form the Black Consciousness movement.”⁹ Following Braithwaite’s logic, the ANC’s transition to an armed struggle should be remembered as a failure that only setback the liberation movement. Instead, the ANC has revered its historical ties to the armed struggle by glorifying the leaders behind MK, such as Nelson

⁷ Denis, “Oral History in a Wounded Country,” 212.

⁸ John Braithwaite, “Limits on Violence; Limits on Responsive Regulatory Theory,” *University of Denver: Law and Policy* 36 (2014): 432, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/store/10.1111/lapo.12026/asset/lapo12026.pdf?v=1&t=ig1zx3c2&s=945c266b7299f8493887f1216b98ac3252abd0c8>.

⁹ Braithwaite, “Limits on Violence; Limits on Responsive Regulatory Theory,” 445.

Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, and Jacob Zuma as their first three presidential candidates in the new democracy.

Historical Background of Nonviolent Resistance

In order to fully appreciate the current state of the ANC, one must understand the history of the organization - starting with its founding. Heather Hughes begins her biography of John Dube, the ANC's first president, with a disclaimer stating that "any biography of Dube will be flawed because most of what he wrote himself likely no longer exists."¹⁰ Although this admission signals an inability to completely understand Dube, much can still be learned from Hughes's work. Hughes depicts Dube as a champion for social change and improvement for blacks in South Africa, especially for his own ethnic group, the Zulus. At the beginning of his career, Dube saw "the path to African betterment leading not through violent revolution but through slow transformation and in cooperation with white governance."¹¹ Dube originally favored a gradualist approach that prioritized cooperation with Whites, but eventually came to "the realization that cooperation with whites was not advancing [the ANC's] cause, and more so hindering it."¹² This change in perspective did not push Dube to advocate for violent resistance. In fact, the ANC would remain committed to nonviolence decades after Dube's tenure had ended.

Chief Albert Luthuli, ANC president from 1952-1967, carried on Dube's tradition of advocating for nonviolent resistance as the ANC's only method of resistance. Luthuli explained his reasoning by claiming that "I have embraced the Non-Violent Passive Resistance technique

¹⁰ Braithwaite, "Limits on Violence; Limits on Responsive Regulatory Theory," 317.

¹¹ The Historian Editorial Staff, "Book Reviews," review of *The First President: A Life of John L. Dube, Founding President of the ANC*, by Heather Hughes, *The Historian*, 2015, 318, http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/turing.library.northwestern.edu/doi/10.1111/hisn.12062_3/epdf.

¹² The Historian Editorial Staff, "Book Reviews," 319.

in fighting for freedom because I am convinced it is the only non-revolutionary, legitimate and human way that could be used by people denied, as we are, effective constitutional means to further our aspirations.”¹³ Luthuli exercised his belief in nonviolent resistance when the ANC created the ‘Defiance Campaign’ alongside the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) in June 1952. The Defiance Campaign attempted to flood the South African criminal justice systems with participants that had violated petty Apartheid laws, such as sitting on benches reserved for Whites.¹⁴ Luthuli not only continued the ANC’s legacy of nonviolence, but paired with South African Indians to further his cause. This is significant because one of the founders of the SAIC was Mohandas Gandhi. While a cursory glance at history may imply that Luthuli’s strategies of resistance mimicked those of Dube, in actuality, both of the ANC leaders’ dogmatic devotion to nonviolence can be attributed back to Gandhi, according to historian Scott Couper.¹⁵

Gandhi substantially influenced the ANC’s political strategy from its founding in 1912 until the launch of an armed wing in 1961 during Albert Luthuli’s tenure as president. From the onset, Dube modeled the ANC after Gandhi’s Indian Congress of Natal.¹⁶ Although Dube had great admiration for Gandhi and the Indian Congress of Natal’s methods of passive resistance, Couper makes the distinction that the very idea of a violent strategy was unrealistic.¹⁷ Therefore, Dube chose nonviolence as a sort of default, considering that black South Africans did not have access to enough arms to consider violently rebelling against the white apartheid state. Luthuli,

¹³ Scott Couper, “‘But Let Us Remember Him Then and Never Forget...’ - The Dilution of Satyagraha in South Africa,” *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* (2013), accessed October 27, 2015: 11, http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html.

¹⁴ “Defiance Campaign 1952,” South African History Online, accessed October 28, 2015, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/defiance-campaign-1952>.

¹⁵ Couper, “‘But Let Us Remember Him Then and Never Forget...’ - The Dilution of Satyagraha in South Africa,” 7.

¹⁶ Couper, “‘But Let Us Remember Him Then and Never Forget...’ - The Dilution of Satyagraha in South Africa,” 7.

¹⁷ Couper, “‘But Let Us Remember Him Then and Never Forget...’ - The Dilution of Satyagraha in South Africa,” 8.

on the other hand, became a Gandhian disciple more because of his belief in Gandhian tactics rather than for Dube's practical concerns. Still, Luthuli, like Dube, also preached practicality when he received the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo. During his trip, Luthuli stated on December 12, 1961 that an "attack by an unarmed public against the fully armed forces of the government would mean suicide."¹⁸ Unlike Luthuli, not everyone in the ANC's leadership saw the launch of an armed struggle as a death wish. Four days after Luthuli's statement, Nelson Mandela abandoned both Gandhi's *Satyagraha* and nonviolent resistance when he launched the first attacks of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Launch of the ANC's Armed Struggle

On December 16, 1961, Nelson Mandela launched the first attacks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. In contrast to Luthuli, Mandela stated that he did not dogmatically believe in nonviolent resistance, but rather thought "that non-violence was a tactic that should be abandoned when it no longer worked."¹⁹ Mandela had grown frustrated by the ANC's lack of progress, and founded MK to try to jumpstart the liberation movement, however, the launch of MK in 1961 gutted the ANC's leadership. Luthuli, having just received the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo for maintaining his rhetoric and actions of nonviolence, was banned and thus unable to stem the tide of violence and call for a move back to nonviolent resistance. Many other ANC leaders were exiled, jailed, or killed, including Mandela himself, who was arrested in 1962 after apartheid security forces received a tip-off from the CIA.²⁰ Even with its founding father

¹⁸ Couper, "'But Let Us Remember Him Then and Never Forget...'" - The Dilution of Satyagraha in South Africa," 14.

¹⁹ Couper, "'But Let Us Remember Him Then and Never Forget...'" - The Dilution of Satyagraha in South Africa," 16.

²⁰ Steven Ellis, *External Mission: The ANC in Exile* (Jeppesstown: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2012), 34.

imprisoned, MK continued to carry out sporadic bombings and sabotage while in exile over the next three decades.

MK cadres that lived in Angola, Mozambique, and Zambia while in exile routinely suffered food shortages, clothing deficiencies, and physical punishment. Former member of the ANC National Executive Committee, Ronald Kasrils, writes that in Angola, where most of the MK cadres stayed throughout the 1970s and '80s, cadres made the most of difficult living conditions and a dearth of supplies. Kasrils also suggests that the administration's brutality and authoritarian nature created an environment of "intolerable oppression that was the life experience of black comrades, leaders and rank and file alike."²¹ By the late 1970s, an increasingly paranoid ANC security department regularly detained MK operatives on the mere rumor of being SADF informants or promoting ideologies contradictory to the ANC's political stance.²² The growing inner turmoil within MK served as a catalyst that strengthened the call for more radical action.

MK cadres grew frustrated with being exiled to foreign countries, which provoked them to advocate for more radical military strategies. By 1985, the ANC eliminated the distinction between "hard" and "soft" targets during the Kabwe Conference, which encouraged MK cadres to lay land mines along the border areas of the northern Transvaal. The mines allegedly targeted white farmers (two were injured), and on November 28, the ANC's Radio Freedom described those same mines as a warning to white South Africans that similar attacks would soon become

²¹ Stephen Ellis, "Reviewed Work: *'Armed and Dangerous': My Undercover Struggle against Apartheid* by Ronnie Kasrils," review of *'Armed and Dangerous': My Undercover Struggle against Apartheid*, by Ronnie Kasrils, Cambridge University Press, 1994: 177, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, http://www.jstor.org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/stable/1161389?origin=crossref&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

²² Ellis, "Reviewed Work: *'Armed and Dangerous': My Undercover Struggle against Apartheid* by Ronnie Kasrils," 594.

“the order of the day.”²³ Amidst growing international sanctions, South African Christian advocacy movements, and radical attacks from MK operatives, the apartheid government eventually relented and unbanned the ANC in 1990.²⁴ This was both an invitation for ANC operatives to return back home, and also for the ANC as an organization to begin its negotiations to establish a new government.

Disputed Narratives on the Formation of the ANC's Armed Struggle

The first disputed narrative of the ANC's armed struggle can be traced back to the founding of MK and its ambiguous amount of support from then-ANC President, Albert Luthuli. Sithole and Mkhize write that factions including the former state Security Police, the Inkatha Freedom Party, and the ANC posthumously “appropriated Luthuli to justify their political actions and programs.”²⁵ To summarize these briefly, the head of the state Security Police, General van den Bergh, “characterized Luthuli as a willing collaborator who was on the verge of embracing the policies of apartheid at the time of his death, and as a staunch opponent of communism and violence.”²⁶ Inkatha's founder, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, claimed a friendship with Luthuli to add strength to Inkatha's condemnation of the ANC's armed struggle.²⁷ The ANC's leadership, specifically Mandela, “insists that Luthuli knew and participated in meetings which formulated the decision to set up MK.”²⁸ The debate over Luthuli's involvement

²³ Ellis, “Reviewed Work: *‘Armed and Dangerous’: My Undercover Struggle against Apartheid* by Ronnie Kasrils,” 221.

²⁴ Ellis, “Reviewed Work: *‘Armed and Dangerous’: My Undercover Struggle against Apartheid* by Ronnie Kasrils,” 263.

²⁵ Jabulani Sithole and Sibongiseni Mkhize, “Truth or Lies? Selective Memories, Imaginings, and Representations of Chief Albert John Luthuli in Recent Political Discourses,” *History and Theory* 39 (December 2000): 70.

²⁶ Sithole and Mkhize, “Truth or Lies? Selective Memories, Imaginings, and Representations of Chief Albert John Luthuli in Recent Political Discourses,” 72.

²⁷ Sithole and Mkhize, “Truth or Lies? Selective Memories, Imaginings, and Representations of Chief Albert John Luthuli in Recent Political Discourses,” 81.

²⁸ Sithole and Mkhize, “Truth or Lies? Selective Memories, Imaginings, and Representations of Chief Albert John Luthuli in Recent Political Discourses,” 83.

in the creation of MK continues to this day, as current South African President Jacob Zuma, in 2010, claimed “not only that Luthuli supported the foundation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, but that it was in fact he that gave it its name.”²⁹ The competition of disparate narratives over Luthuli’s legacy have not only muddled Luthuli’s image, but also rendered ambiguous the exact identity of MK’s founders.

Ellis argues that members of the South African Communist Party’s (SACP) Central Committee used their powerful standing within the ANC to launch Umkhonto we Sizwe. Ellis cites Eric Mtshali, an SACP and ANC member and founder-member of MK, who said that “the South African Communist Party arrived at the decision [to commence an armed struggle] ahead of the ANC.”³⁰ Ellis writes that several SACP officials held positions within the ANC National Executive Committee and the leadership of MK. Most notable among these joint SACP and ANC members was Nelson Mandela, who was also a member of the SACP’s Central Committee. Mandela’s Communist views shaped his political ideologies and his decision to form MK in 1961. From reading excerpts from Mandela’s original manuscript of his autobiography, I uncovered that Mandela modeled the launch of MK after the Bolshevik revolution, which he claimed was “an immortal achievement which opened up vast possibilities for man's forward movement.”³¹ Yet, South African collective memory has not paid proper attention to the influence of communist ideology on Mandela. Mandela attributes South Africans’ aversion to communism to “the influence of our own background and of missionary education, to many years of anti-Communist indoctrination by the propaganda agencies of the enemy and to inability

²⁹ Ellis, *ANC in Exile*, 25.

³⁰ Ellis, *ANC in Exile*, 18.

³¹ Nelson Mandela, *A Long Walk to Freedom* (Unpublished Manuscript, 1975), 6.

to think for ourselves in this regard.”³² Mandela’s reflections on Communism appear ironic in hindsight, considering that Mandela pursued neoliberal economic policies, such as the policies of Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR), during his presidency and hid his party membership up until his death in 2013. When South Africans are considering candidate’s opposition to apartheid when voting for current ANC leaders like Jacob Zuma, then they should also question the neoliberal economic policies of those leaders that contradict the stance of Communist freedom fighters like Joe Slovo and Jack Simons.

The influence of extreme leftist ideology on the ANC can be traced back well before the launch of MK. In 1955, the ANC ratified the Freedom Charter as a statement of its core principles. The Freedom Charter claimed the need for basic rights like the freedom of assembly, religion, and speech, all of which can be traced back to the constitutions of western countries, like Britain and the United States. Amongst these core principles also lay several socialist ideas, such as transferring ownership of “the mineral wealth beneath the soil” from the banks to “the ownership of the people as a whole.”³³ This fusion of influence from western, capitalist democracies and leftist, Marxist-influenced ideologies in the Freedom Charter reveals not only the historical depth of leftist influence, but also that the ANC did not strictly adhere to communism or socialism. While Ellis may claim that the SACP had heavy influence over the ANC’s central leadership, there is also an obvious influence from western ideologies. Both strands of political thought can be found within South Africa’s constitution that has shaped the political landscape of the country today.

Conclusions

³² Nelson Mandela, *A Long Walk to Freedom* (Unpublished Manuscript, 1975), 362.

³³ Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (United States of America: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), 209.

There are many different narratives that have emerged to create the historical narrative of the formation of MK. Although no singular narrative can be labeled as a “lie,” grappling with these narratives is a necessary undertaking before the memories of MK fade permanently into history. The formation of an armed wing represented a sharp deviation from the ANC’s historic adherence to nonviolent, passive resistance. South Africans should not forget how the influence of Gandhi, Dube, and Luthuli shaped the early years of the anti-apartheid movement, despite the conflicting narratives on Luthuli’s involvement on the formation of MK.

The competing reports on Luthuli’s support for the creation of MK offers just one example of the many storylines with the ANC’s armed struggle that should be studied in further depth. The influence of communist and socialist ideologies on Mandela and ANC policy should be examined further to add to the understand of the political theories that led to the formation of a new democracy in 1994. Appreciating the amalgamation of Western, capitalist and ultra-leftist ideals that influenced the negotiations between the ANC and the National Party can only enrich South Africans’ awareness of what it means to be South African. Allowing any one narrative of the ANC’s armed struggle to dominate the public’s understanding of their history is a sin against the modern state, which should embrace open debate and a free-flow of information as a critical step to becoming a nonracial, all-inclusive democracy.

Methodology

The data used for this paper was collected in a qualitative manner via formal interviews. I tried to get interviewees that would offer diverse opinions and outlooks on various aspects of collective memory, history, and South Africa's current political and social climate. Due to the varying specialties of the interviewees, I asked them individualized questions. The interview questions that I wrote out before each interview can be found in the appendices. I did not stick to the exact order of the questions, but rather asked questions based on the relevancy it had in relation to the interviewee's answer. After asking a question, I crossed it out with a pencil to stay organized and make sure that I would get to each question.

I attempted to get all of my interviews in-person, but unfortunately a couple of my interviewees could not accommodate this request with their schedule. Rather than irritate my interviewee with repeated requests to find time for a sit-down interview with me, I instead offered the alternative to interview them over the phone. When first contacting each interviewee, I encouraged each person to select a meeting place and time where they would feel most comfortable. For the phone interviews, I asked each interviewee when it would be best to call them, making sure to remind them that I had a very flexible schedule.

To protect the integrity of the data, I made sure to obtain both oral and written consent from each interviewee. Before each interview, I made sure to obtain verbal consent to publish any data collected from the interviewees. During in-person interviews, I obtained a written signature before beginning. For the phone interviews, I made sure to follow up after the interview and ask for a picture or email to be sent to provide written consent that the interviewee still agreed that I could use whatever they said in my final report. Unlike in-person interviews, I

did not ask for such written consent at the beginning of the phone interviews because it would have required the use of the interviewee's cell phone, which could have caused the phone to hang up. Additionally, I did not know whether they were near pen or paper and did not want to start the interview by exasperating them by asking to search for something with which to write. Also, I did not interview anyone under the age of eighteen.

Findings and Analysis

Introduction

After two years of recording personal testimonies from apartheid-era police, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) veterans, and others, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) released a report in 1998. The TRC created a platform to acknowledge the significance of the many forgotten strands of apartheid history, however, no process could ever do justice to every overlooked storyline and anecdote. Significant amongst those still-unacknowledged narratives are several narratives from within the ANC's armed struggle, launched by Nelson Mandela in 1961. Thirty-seven years after he had launched MK's first offensive, President Mandela stood in front of a crowd of TRC commissioners, political leaders, and ministers to comment on the TRC report and the narratives the report had uncovered. Towards the end of his statement, Mandela reflected on the failures of the apartheid state, stating that:

“We are extricating ourselves from a system that insulted our common humanity by dividing us from one another on the basis of race and setting us against each other an oppressed and oppressor.

In doing so that system committed a crime against humanity, which shared humanity we celebrate today in a constitution that entrenches humane rights and values.

In denying us these things the Apartheid State generated the violent political conflict in the course of which human rights were violated.”³⁴

³⁴ “Statement by President Mandela on receiving the report of the TRC,” last modified 2011, <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3072>.

Each of these three phrases carried significance for understanding the goals of a nation trying to digest its recently-ended liberation movement. Firstly, the need to instill a sense of self-confidence into the country's black population that had been physically, legally, and emotionally degraded for centuries. Secondly, the need for a constitution that upholds and legitimizes the civil rights for which the ANC fought both violently and nonviolently to uphold. Finally, the country sought to heal the wounds of the past and reconcile with its history to finally put an end to the violence and pain that the apartheid government had inflicted on South Africa for decades.

While Mandela and the other founders of the new government rebuked the previous crimes of the apartheid government, they could not have foreseen how the new democracy would inadvertently allow the legacy of the past to persist into present today. By creating a narrative of a reconciled, nonracial nation, the ANC unintentionally buried several strands from South Africa's painful history, specifically several strands regarding its armed struggle. These hidden narratives continue to have huge ramifications for the current political allegiances and national identity that bind the new democracy together. Captured eloquently by Mandela in 1998, these three mistakes of the apartheid era have yet to be fully addressed due to the South African public's narrow understanding of the ANC's armed struggle.

Part 1: "Insulted our Common Humanity"

In order for South Africa to fully extricate itself from a system that "insulted our common humanity," the country must first understand the methods with which that system degraded black Africans' humanity. This system extended beyond the obvious apartheid structures, such as de

jure segregation, and expanded into more subtle aspects of the apartheid-era, such as the way that schools taught the national narrative of South Africa's history. While the salience of humiliating apartheid-era policies are unignorable, schools psychologically scarred black students into believing they were inferior to whites by glorifying Afrikaners and failing to recognize any historical examples of black excellence. Even today, South Africa's historical narrative perpetuates blacks' feelings of inferiority by failing to recognize enough black leaders to give black Africans an appreciation of the accomplishments of their race.

In 1948, the National Party took power in South Africa and altered public schools' history curriculum to glorify Afrikanerdom, thus cultivating a sense of inferiority amongst black Africans. In her dissertation from University of Pretoria, Gail Wendon states that Afrikaners' narrative of South African history emphasizes the Afrikaners' heroic quest for manifest destiny across the country. Taught to white, indian, coloured, and black students alike, the dominant Afrikaner narrative of history "[denied] blacks a history, it is intended to prevent the growth of a national class consciousness and to reduce as much as possible any desire for a radical alternative."³⁵ This dominant narrative of South African history not only accentuated Afrikaners' divine right to rule, but deprived other racial groups, especially black Africans, any historical legitimacy to define their own self-worth. Without a historical understanding of their own blackness, black South Africans were presented with limited examples of black excellence with which to juxtapose amongst the triumphant narrative of the Afrikaner race as a whole. Due to a distortion of history, black Africans developed a feeling of inferiority to affluent, white South Africans.

³⁵ Gail Wendon, "A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa" (PhD diss, University of Pretoria, 2009): 99.

From 1948 to 1994, apartheid laws that belittled blacks as second class citizens incubated this communal self-awareness of black inferiority. By denying blacks voting rights, illegalizing interracial sex, and creating separate “homelands” for black Africans to live, the apartheid state created a legal system that routinely humiliated and denigrated its black citizens.³⁶ Denied a sense of respect in history and the present, blacks began to believe the inferiority that the Afrikaner narrative and government had ascribed to them. The Black Consciousness Movement, led by Steve Biko in the late ‘60s and early ‘70s, attempted to counter this psychological degradation by uplifting blacks’ perceptions of their own self-worth.³⁷ Unfortunately, black South Africans continued to feel inferior to their white peers, as evidenced by the lingering effects of psychological debasement bled into the post-apartheid democracy.

During the post-apartheid restructuring of primary and secondary education, the lingering effects of black stigmatization hindered the process of emphasizing black narratives within history curricula. Apartheid’s psychological impact on education reformers was exemplified in the series of teacher conferences and textbook reforms that occurred throughout 1992 and 1993. A conference report from Durban in 1993 noted a “comparatively low participation by African teachers in the discussions.”³⁸ According to Wendon, low black participation on history curriculum reformation can be attributed to both the psychological scarring of apartheid-era humiliation and white teachers’ superior quality of education.³⁹ Black teachers felt psychologically and academically inadequate to debate educational reform, much less debate that

³⁶ Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 190-1.

³⁷ Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 212.

³⁸ Wendon, “A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa,” 114.

³⁹ Wendon, “A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa,” 114-5.

reform in English, which was many of their second language.⁴⁰ Due to the racial discrepancies of teachers' self-confidence, quality of education, and language proficiency, African teachers' had a limited influence on rewriting South African history to give more diligence to black narratives.

Political administrators almost single-handedly created the history curriculum for the Curriculum 2005 (C 2005) as a method to teach economically applicable skills instead of uplift the black psyche. Unfortunately, academic historians and educators that would have focused more on the inherent value of educating the masses on black history were excluded from the process.⁴¹ Administrators created this new curriculum with the goal to "heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values."⁴² This meant that the new curriculum did not place emphasis on historical content, but rather the development of skills that can "lead to future careers in management and administration, marketing, public relations and the media."⁴³ Instead of using a new history curriculum as a tool to instill a sense of pride in black learners, the new curriculum focused on the economic empowerment of black Africans. Ironically, black economic empowerment is a process limited by the decades of Afrikaner-dominated history curriculum that engendered blacks' low expectations for their potential future success. While political administrators intended C 2005 to generate economic empowerment, those same administrators quickly realized a new potential for a history education that could protect their own political interests.

ANC politicians shaped the historical narrative of the new government to influence its citizens' understanding of their nation's past and current identity that gives credibility to the

⁴⁰ Wendon, "A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa," 115.

⁴¹ Henning Hues, "Mandela the Terrorist," *Journal of educational media, memory, and society* 3 (2011): 78.

⁴² Henning Hues, "Mandela the Terrorist," 82-3.

⁴³ Henning Hues, "Mandela the Terrorist" 84.

ANC as a ruling party. This revision of the C 2005 formed the modern Revised National History Curriculum Statement for General Education and Training and the National Curriculum Statement for Further Education and Training. This new curriculum casts a morally just light on the liberation movement, exemplified by such discussion prompts as asking “learners to analyze why Mandela is regarded as a hero.”⁴⁴ It is important to note that this question is poised at the curriculum’s first mention of Mandela, when learners presumably have little historical knowledge as to why Mandela is so revered. Thus, young South African students are inundated with ANC-biased narratives before accumulating any historical facts to justify those claims. This glorification of Mandela is a particularly powerful example of how the ANC has rewritten history to justify its political dominance of the new democracy.

Political administrators littered South African communities with references to the contributions of Nelson Mandela to create an ANC hero that all South Africans can rally around. From my experiences walking the streets of Durban, it seems hard to find a block on a commercial street that does not have at least one picture of Mandela hung up in a store or restaurant. In 2012, President Jacob Zuma announced that all of the new bank notes would feature Mandela’s likeness.⁴⁵ The entire wall of the exit to the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum in Soweto features a picture of Mandela, not to mention that outside the museum there is a memorial to Hector Pieterse, which announces that it was “unveiled by Dr. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela on 16 June 1992.”⁴⁶ Although Mandela did live in Soweto, the prominence

⁴⁴ Henning Hues, “Mandela the Terrorist” 86.

⁴⁵ Patrick McGroarty, “South Africa to Put Nelson Mandela on Its Money,” *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 11, 2012, Accessed November 19, 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970203646004577216902698941744>.

⁴⁶ From pictures taken on a personal trip, Oct. 31, 2015. Picture of plaque can be found in appendices, although I was not allowed to take pictures inside of Museum, unfortunately.

of Mandela's likeness seems anachronistic to this museum because Mandela had already been imprisoned for thirteen years when Pieterse was shot and killed during the 1976 student uprising. Epitomized by the Hector Pieterse Museum, the pervasive presence of Mandela's image overstates his contributions to the liberation struggle by producing a perception that, similar to the ubiquitousness of his picture, Mandela had a pervasive influence on all parts of the liberation movement. As the symbolic figurehead of the ANC, the almost-inescapable representations of Mandela also gives greater legitimacy to the ANC's position in power by overstating the importance and breadth of the Mandela's accomplishments.

The limited scope of the anti-apartheid movement's Mandela-centric narrative leaves little room for reminiscence on Mandela's failed launch of the armed struggle, which would force history to acknowledge a more complete range of black anti-apartheid activists that compensated for Mandela's shortcomings. Mandela launched the ANC's armed struggle in 1961, the anti-apartheid movement became almost impotent for a decade and a half as the apartheid government responded by imprisoning and exiling more prominent freedom fighters than ever before.⁴⁷ The anti-apartheid movement continued to stagnate until "a new generation of union activists began to agitate first in Durban, and new student leaders emerged to form the Black Consciousness movement."⁴⁸ Given this knowledge, the celebration of Mandela's likeness at the Hector Pieterse Museum seems even more ironic, as the 1976 Soweto Uprising rejuvenated the anti-apartheid movement that he had crippled with his decision to launch an armed struggle. Public memorials and curriculum should make more of an effort to honor the memory of the ANC and MK leaders, like OR Tambo, Chris Hani, and Mac Maharaj, that kept the ANC alive

⁴⁷ Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 211.

⁴⁸ Braithwaite, "Limits on Violence; Limits on Responsive Regulatory Theory," 445.

during the twenty-seven years that Mandela spent in prison. Not to mention that this narrative overlooks the significant contributions of other organizations, such as the Black Consciousness Movement and the Pan Africanist Congress. There is no logic in creating a narrative that places primary emphasis on Mandela's accomplishments to a liberation movement that he was not only absent from for almost three decades, but severely hobbled for a decade and a half. A more in-depth understanding of the ANC's armed struggle would allow South Africans to realize the mistakes of the past that contradict the popular narrative of Mandela's triumph. Recognizing Mandela's fallibility would allow South Africans to better appreciate the breadth of contributors that kept the anti-apartheid struggle going during Mandela's imprisonment.

The emphasis on Mandela's contributions combined with the de-emphasis of other black leaders' contributions create a historical narrative that paints Mandela as an exceptional individual, and not blacks as a competent race as a whole. At the end of *ANC in Exile*, Stephen Ellis reminds his readers to note "how completely the ANC has written out of the historical narrative of all the other organizations that contributed to the overthrow of apartheid... most particularly the Black Consciousness Movement."⁴⁹ The significance of overlooking the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in particular is that the BCM saw a more holistic understanding of history as a tool "to make the black man come to himself... to infuse him with pride and dignity."⁵⁰ Steve Biko, the leader of the BCM, wrote that blacks had been taught to hate their own history by white imperialists' rewritten narrative of African history:

"No longer was reference made to African culture, it became barbarism. Africa was the "dark continent." Religious practices and customs were referred to as superstition. The history of African Society was reduced to tribal battles and internecine wars... No wonder the African child learns to hate his heritage in his

⁴⁹ Ellis, *External Mission: The ANC in Exile*, 299.

⁵⁰ Aelred Stubbs C.R., *I Write What I Like* (Randsburg: Ravan Press 1996), 29.

days at school. So negative is the image presented to him that he tends to find solace only in close identification with the white society.”⁵¹

In order to realize Biko’s dream for black people to find pride in their own blackness, learners must be given as many examples of black excellence as possible to contradict the (Afrikaner and) imperialist-generated narrative of black barbarism. Unfortunately, South Africa’s emphasis on the contributions of one man - Nelson Mandela - limits black Africans’ arsenal of black leaders from which to build up a sense of pride in their own blackness.

The residual psychological scars of routine humiliation on black teachers contribute to creating a curriculum that perpetuate subtle implications of black inferiority. Even today, black teachers reflect that they continue to “find solace only in close identification with the white society.” In written comments from 2004 *Facing the Past* teacher workshops, one teacher anonymously wrote that the lingering scars of apartheid on the black psyche engender a society where “We still feel very much inferior to whites... Sometimes when you do something perfectly they call you umlungu (white man) as if a white man is capable of doing only good things.”⁵² While the curriculum understates the contributions of exceptional black leaders besides Mandela, black teachers also are not always the best role models for inculcating black self-confidence - as many of them still glorify the white race. If the very teachers themselves cannot take pride in blackness and the curriculum does not draw sufficient attention to the wide scope of black anti-apartheid leaders, then black learners will grow up feeling inferior to whites.

Unfortunately, the continuation of blacks’ subconscious feelings of inferiority may already have been realized. Aphiwe Khoza, a 23-year-old Sowetan native, said that present-day

⁵¹ Stubbs C.R., *I Write What I Like*, 29.

⁵² Wendon, “A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa,” 100.

South African youths still find pride in validation from white people, saying that “with the youth now, it’s a statement type of thing: I hang up with white people and it’s quite a good- a cool thing...”⁵³ According to Khoza, black parents that find out their kids have white friends “is something that she or he will actually boast about and would have that like, uh sort of type of respect that you grew your child well to be actually, to be where he is... they assume that you’ve made it in life... you hang around people that live in higher places.”⁵⁴ The desire for white validation still lives in the black subconscious, however, as this Sowetan youth insisted these cultural norms have “nothing to do with race.”⁵⁵ It is also worth noting the significance of this man living in Soweto because the Black Consciousness Movement has left a substantial imprint on Sowetan history, most significantly by instigating the famous Soweto Uprising of 1976. Blacks’ subconscious draw toward white friends as a status symbol implies that the country has not yet attained its goal of becoming nonracial in the minds of the people. While the law may indicate that South Africa is a nonracial country, the mentality of the people has yet to catch up.

A more inclusive narrative of the anti-apartheid movement and the ANC’s armed struggle is crucial to create South Africa into a nonracial country *psychologically*. The history curriculum and national monuments should give more reference to the entirety of the ANC leadership and the leadership of non-ANC movements. I believe by acknowledging Mandela’s fallibility through his unsuccessful launch of the ANC’s armed struggle is an imperative first step in this process. By finding fault in the symbolic leader of South African liberation, learners and citizens will be forced to conclude that other, mostly black, men and women had to step up to mend the stagnant anti-apartheid struggle. Developing the South African population’s deeper appreciation

⁵³ Khoza, Aphiwe. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 12, 2015.

⁵⁴ Khoza, Aphiwe. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 12, 2015.

⁵⁵ Khoza, Aphiwe. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 12, 2015.

for the aggregate of black freedom fighters will allow current black Africans to develop a sense of pride in the black race as a whole and overcome apartheid's legacy that, as Mandela put it, "insulted our common humanity."

Part 2: "A Constitution that Entrenches Humane Rights and Values"

In order for South Africans to understand Mandela's meaning behind creating "a constitution that entrenches humane rights and values," the South African population must understand the ideological thinking that decided which rights and values to prioritize in that constitution. Much of the intellectual groundwork for the constitution can be found in the writings and speeches of leaders from the ANC in exile, specifically the leaders of its armed struggle. Ultraleftist political theory influenced ANC policy and served as an impetus to form MK. Although the ANC never adopted complete communist or socialist ideology, the political party did insert some communist and socialist ideas into its goals for a new democracy, as seen by the social services promised in the Constitution. The modern shift to neoliberal economic policies undermines constituents' faith in the glorified narrative of ANC liberation because the historically-leftist ideal have been ignored and the constitutionally-ensured social services are not being provided.

Even before the armed struggle, the ANC ratified the Freedom Charter, which supported certain socialist economic policies. Socialist influence could be seen in several parts of the Freedom Charter, particularly the section that supported transferring ownership of "the mineral wealth beneath the soil" from the banks to "the ownership of the people as a whole."⁵⁶ The idea

⁵⁶ Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 209.

of establishing a democratic ownership of South Africa's opulent mineral wealth aligns with the socialist ideal of popular, economic sovereignty.⁵⁷ In 1955, this socialist-influenced document became the political blueprint of the ANC and several of its allies.⁵⁸ While the Freedom Charter was not a socialist document, it did support leftist economic principles that would continue to influence ANC policy throughout the second half of the twentieth century.

Communist ideology instigated the perceived need for an armed struggle amongst the ANC leadership. Ellis notes that at a national conference in 1961, the South African Communist Party (SACP) leadership decided that "Armed resistance would have to replace nonviolence as an instrument of the struggle to overthrow the regime."⁵⁹ Joe Slovo, a member of the SACP Central Committee, wrote that the SACP's decision extended into the ANC, as "By June 1961... the Central Committee of our Party and the Johannesburg Working Group of the ANC had reached a consensus on the need for a military wing and to prepare for its initial phase of armed action."⁶⁰ Mandela, a member of both the SACP Central Committee and a part of the ANC Johannesburg leadership, then decided to launch the armed struggle without the approval of the ANC President Chief Albert Luthuli, an ardent anti-communist and preacher of nonviolence.⁶¹ Although the ANC never officially endorsed communism, MK modeled its strategies after the Cuban and Bolshevik Revolution, which "was clear in the Mayibuye plan."⁶² SACP members within the ANC leadership had enough influence to convince the ANC to not only abandon the

⁵⁷ Nederman, Cary J.. 1984. Review of *Democratic Socialism: Theory and Practice*. *The American Political Science Review* 78 (3). [American Political Science Association, Cambridge University Press]: 883. doi:10.2307/1961946.

⁵⁸ Gewelumusa Chrysostomus Khwela, "The Clausewitzian and Heuristic Evolution of the ANC's Armed Struggle: A Dependent Pillar of the South African Revolution," *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* 30 (2000): 311, accessed November 15, 2015, <http://scientiamilitaria.journals.ac.za/pub>.

⁵⁹ Ellis, *External Mission: ANC in Exile*, 17.

⁶⁰ Ellis, *External Mission: ANC in Exile*, 23.

⁶¹ Couper, "'But Let Us Remember Him Then and Never Forget...' - The Dilution of Satyagraha in South Africa," 16.

⁶² Ellis, *External Mission: ANC in Exile*, 281.

nonviolent ideals of President Luthuli, but to mimic the violent uprising of the underclass seen in the Bolshevik Revolution. By nature of its very conception, MK showed the depth to which communist ideology could impact ANC policy.

Communist countries supplied cadres with training, weaponry, and other necessities to support MK and continue to indoctrinate the armed wing with communist ideas. Until the early 1980s, the Soviet Union was the ANC's main financier and provider of military training, as well as the source that connected the ANC to support from pro-Soviet governments and left-leaning political groups worldwide.⁶³ The influence of left-leaning countries and organizations began to infiltrate the ANC's armed wing beyond just tangible goods. After the Morogoro Conference in 1969, the power structure of the ANC began to morph into a system resembling the Leninist technique of democratic centralism.⁶⁴ MK's internal structures continued to shift further after 1976, when MK began to receive an influx of new recruits that had been inspired by the 1976 Soweto Uprising. Imitating a Leninist practice from the Russian civil war, the MK leadership began to appoint more commissars - who were invariably SACP members - than ever before to "keep ideological control of the newcomers."⁶⁵ With the expansion of the commissar system, the depth of communist influence on MK expanded from supplying the guns that operatives carried on missions to defining the structures those operatives worked within. While the ANC was by no means a communist or socialist movement, some of the core structures closely resembled that of previous ultra-leftist organizations, and, on further inspection, so did several of the ANC's economic ideals. Well after the ratification of the Freedom Charter, ultra-leftist ideology continued to influence the policies of MK leaders. As former MK specials operative Louise

⁶³ Ellis, *External Mission: ANC in Exile*, 86.

⁶⁴ Ellis, *External Mission: ANC in Exile*, 79.

⁶⁵ Ellis, *External Mission: ANC in Exile*, 118.

Colvin reflected, even non-communist leaders like Thabo Mbeki were committed to “a lot of socialist principles.”⁶⁶ The continuous guidance and support from communist and left-leaning countries had infiltrated the ideals held by the core ANC leadership, even those that did not identify as communists. MK’s incubation of leftist ideology would ultimately shape the construction of the new democracy and the ideals the nation would prioritize.

The influence of ultra-leftist ideology on ANC policy carried over from MK’s decades in exile into the rhetoric of the new democracy’s constitution. During negotiations in the early 1990s between the ANC and the Nationalist government, the ANC identified “the transfer of wealth and land to the people” as two of the three main hindrances to the fulfillment of the ANC’s political objectives.⁶⁷ The stated desire to transfer wealth and land to the people is a direct descendant from the socialist economic objectives set forth in the Freedom Charter, and maintained through the leftist-influenced economic ideals of MK. Guided by the ANC’s legacy of fiscal liberalism, the Constitution mandated a large welfare state that ensured the rights of housing, health care, food, water, and social security.⁶⁸ By guaranteeing these rights, the writers of the Constitution promised to offer economic security through welfare and social upliftment programs - a traditionally socialist idea. Regardless of whether future politicians or economists would support fiscal liberalism or not, the rhetoric of the Constitution - the bedrock of South Africa’s legal system - should obligate politicians to pursue an end to poverty’s symptoms via government-offered services. The failure to do so could only result in a Constitutional crisis.

⁶⁶ Colvin, Louise. Interview by Will Corvin. Personal Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 11, 2015.

⁶⁷ Kwela, “The Clausewitzian and Heuristic Evolution of the ANC’s Armed Struggle: A Dependent Pillar of the South African Revolution,” 324.

⁶⁸ “The Constitution,” <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/SACConstitution-web-eng.pdf>.

Two years after the formation of a new democracy, the ANC government embraced neoliberalism as its economic policy, which presented a stark deviation from the Constitutional values to provide a myriad of social services. In 1996, the government switched courses from the social services-oriented Reconstruction and Development Programme to a new policy called Growth, Employment, and Redistribution, which embraced free market economics with lower government oversight.⁶⁹ The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) blamed this new policy for starving “social programmes of the funds required to tackle adequately the challenges of poverty and inequality.”⁷⁰ Regardless of a debate over which policy is best for South Africa’s economic growth, COSATU’s argument sheds light on South Africa’s divergence from its Constitutional ideals to provide a vast amount of social services. South African politicians may argue that those services are still being indirectly provided through job growth via the private sector, but a closer look at South Africa’s economy reveals otherwise.

Growth in the private sector is not being distributed to the lower end of South Africa’s income bracket, thus depriving South Africans the means to acquire their Constitutionally-promised economic rights through upward mobility. University of Cape Town Professor Jeremy Seekings describes the impact of GEAR as creating a double class compromise: “A capitalist economic system with neo-liberal macro-economic policies... in return for a high wage growth path and public expenditure on on urban working and middle class... and some redistribution through taxation.”⁷¹ Seekings points out that this policy better serves the poor in theory than practice, as the poor have relatively little power to influence

⁶⁹ Allister Sparks, *Beyond the Miracle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 193.

⁷⁰ Jeremy Seekings, “Trade unions, social policy & class compromise in post-apartheid South Africa.” *Review of African Political Economy*, 31 (2004): 100, 301.

⁷¹ Seekings, “Trade unions, social policy & class compromise in post-apartheid South Africa,” 311.

‘pro-poor’ social policy reform.⁷² In theory, a free market economy would stimulate GDP growth and lower the unemployment rate, however, economists have been dismayed that the country’s GDP growth rate dropped from 4.3% to 2.2% and over half a million jobs were lost between 1996 and 2001.⁷³ Unemployment rates continued to fall to 24.3% overall and 49% amongst youth by 2014.⁷⁴ With less government spending to provide relief to the growing numbers of unemployed South Africans, both the private and the public sector are providing fewer economic opportunities for poor South Africans. Since the country adopted GEAR, neither the public nor the private sector seems to be providing the economic securities ensured by the Constitution.

As the government has moved toward neoliberal policies, dissatisfied South African constituents have been showing up to vote at lower rates. A 2014 report by the Institute for Security Studies found that voter registration has decreased from 80% in 1999 to 78% in 2014.⁷⁵ This drop occurs even after the recent introduction of an automatic registration process, where the state takes the responsibility to register eligible citizens, which suggests that actual registration rates should be much lower. Therefore, a more accurate figure may be voter turnout rates as a proportion of the eligible voting-age population. This percentage is decreasing even more sharply than registration rates, declining “from 86% in 1994 to 72% in 1999 and 58% in 2004.”⁷⁶ As the South African government continues its move toward laissez faire economics, South Africans have slowed their rates of participation in a government that does not live up to its Constitutional creed. Although these initial statistics may seem to imply only a weak

⁷² Seekings, “Trade unions, social policy & class compromise in post-apartheid South Africa,” 311.

⁷³ Sparks, *Beyond the Miracle*, 198.

⁷⁴ “South Africa,” last modified on May 28, 2015, accessed on November 21, 2015, <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/country-notes/southern-africa/south-africa/>.

⁷⁵ “Voter participation in the South African elections of 2014,” Collette Schulz-Herzenberg, accessed October 27, 2015: 2, https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/PolBrief61_Aug14.pdf.

⁷⁶ “Voter participation in the South African elections of 2014,” 2.

correlation between ANC economic policy and voter turnout, a closer look shows that dissatisfaction with the ANC's policies are encouraging voters to turn elsewhere.

While many disillusioned South African voters have stopped participating in the formal political system, many others are simply casting their votes for alternative parties. The report attributes much of the decline in voter participation to disillusionment with the ANC, stating that “the proportion of eligible voters voting for the ANC decreased to 35%, continuing the steady decrease since its peak at 54% in 1994.”⁷⁷ Although part of this drop is attributable to the declining rates of voter participation noted above, voters are also seeking out alternative political parties. In 2009, the ANC held 264 seats in the National Assembly, a number which dropped to 249 seats in the elections of 2014. The Democratic Alliance (DA) and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) are attracting a significant portion of the ANC's lost constituency, including the 15 National Assembly seats that the ANC lost in 2014.⁷⁸ While the current trends are troubling for the ANC, the political party still maintains a healthy majority in the National Assembly, at 62.15% of the vote.⁷⁹ That is why the ANC must change its economic policies now before history catches up to them, and citizens begin to demand the economic rights for which MK operatives fought.

MK veterans criticize current ANC and encourage constituents to cast their votes elsewhere because the ANC's adoption of neoliberalism compromises the ideals that MK operatives fought for while in exile. Former MK special ops member, Louise Colvin points directly to GEAR as a reason for many MK veterans' disenchantment with the ANC. Amongst her friends from MK, she said “we were really horrified at GEAR taking over from the RDP. For

⁷⁷ “Voter participation in the South African elections of 2014,” 4.

⁷⁸ “Voter participation in the South African elections of 2014,” 6.

⁷⁹ “Voter participation in the South African elections of 2014,” 3.

us that was a turning point.”⁸⁰ Although she stated that she cannot speak for all of MK, Colvin is not the only MK veteran to speak out against the ANC’s current economic policies. In 2014, a group of MK veterans lobbied for the “vote no” campaign to encourage constituents not to vote for the ANC in that year’s elections. One of the leaders of the campaign brought attention to the ANC’s current economic policies, claiming that a “vote for the ANC is a vote for the mine bosses who don’t want to reach a deal with the workers.”⁸¹ This quote is a direct reflection of the socialist principles found in the Freedom Charter that advocated for allowing the people to profit off of their country’s mineral wealth.⁸² A closer inspection of the history of the communist-influenced armed struggle would explain why veterans of MK are disgruntled about the adoption of neoliberalism: it abandons the socialist ideals for which they had fought. The ultra-leftist economic principles promised in the Freedom Charter and the Constitution are not being implemented by the current ANC government, and MK veterans are just one group that have started to take notice.

South African youths’ resentment over the lack of government-offered economic opportunities has fueled low voter turnout rates. Speaking as a young man and an aspiring entrepreneur, Khoza agreed with MK veterans that youth see the economic issues as one of the biggest problems facing modern-day South Africa. Khoza said that politicians need to do a better job “to actually support the mission statement of the ANC... there’s a huge gap in terms of doing that with current state of the country.”⁸³ From Khoza’s perspective, many young adults are

⁸⁰ Colvin, Louise. Interview by Will Corvin. Personal Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 11, 2015.

⁸¹ Verashni Pillay, “Vote No, say ANC veterans at campaign launch,” *Mail&Guardian*, April 15, 2014, accessed November 21, 2015, <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-04-15-vote-no-say-anc-veterans-at-campaign-launch/>.

⁸² Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 209.

⁸³ Khoza, Aphiwe. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 20, 2015.

waiting “for the people we put in power to help us because we put them there to help us bring our economy back.”⁸⁴ Unfortunately, Khoza reports that few youths see a viable alternative to the ANC, the party that their parents grew up telling them about. While disgruntled youths know there are alternative political parties, they also “know that they do not have so much influence.”⁸⁵ This dissatisfaction with current ANC economic policy and a perceived lack of viable alternatives seems to be a main contributor to the low rate of voter participation amongst youth as reported by the ISS.⁸⁶ Frustrated by a government that does not serve their economic interests and a lack of other options, South African youths have been reluctant to participate in the formal political system.

As voter participation decreases, disillusioned citizens have turned to extrajudicial means of political participation to protest for the economic opportunities that the ANC promised while in exile. Higher education student protests are the most salient modern example of disillusioned South African voters trying to influence politics outside of the formal political system.

Disgruntled higher education students have formed the #FeesMustFall movement to prevent universities across the country from raising their tuition fees in 2016.⁸⁷ These students, upset over the 49% youth unemployment rate noted above, are protesting for an affordable means to economic mobility after GEAR cut funding for social services. They are also fighting for the ideals that the ANC in exile once stood for - as free education is promised by the Freedom

⁸⁴ Khoza, Aphiwe. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 20, 2015.

⁸⁵ Khoza, Aphiwe. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 12, 2015.

⁸⁶ “Voter participation in the South African elections of 2014,” 2.

⁸⁷ Bongani Nkosi, “#FeesMustFall takes fight to Union Buildings,” *Mail&Guardian*, October 23, 2015, accessed November 21, 2015, <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-10-23-sas-students-take-on-union-buildings>.

Charter.⁸⁸ A larger legal problem is presented by another group, however, as the Abahlali Basemjondolo movement is protesting for their Constitutional right to housing. The shack dwellers' movement protested when they received an eviction notice that stated the land they were occupying in Durban had been sold to a private investor. The Constitutional Court ruled in the favor of Abahlali, stating that an act that gave provincial housing ministers and private landowners unrestricted powers to evict land occupiers was unconstitutional.⁸⁹ The case was a great success for the movement, and also a perfect example of how the current economic policies that favor the private sector can contradict Constitutional values. In light of the discontent of students, shack dwellers, and others, the ANC government cannot continue to support its current economic principles without alienating more of its constituency that have begun to fight for the same rights that the ANC championed while in exile.

To address the conflict between policy and the Constitution in South Africa, the government must either reform their economic policy, alter the Constitution, or start over completely. The easiest solution is to reform the economic policy to match the Constitutional values. Regardless of whether laissez faire economics is better for the South African economy than becoming a welfare state, a new democracy cannot continue to stay in power if its Constitution loses legitimacy in the eyes of the people. Politicians do not need to reform the current economic strategy to match the socialist principles found in the Freedom Charter or the Marxist-Leninist ideals of certain MK leaders. Rather, politicians must vote to channel more funds toward social services as a show of good faith to their constituency that they are still

⁸⁸ Katlego Dismelo, "Student protests are about much more than just #FeesMustFall," *Mail&Guardian*, October 29, 2015, accessed November 21, 2015, <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-10-29-student-protests-are-about-much-more-than-just-feesmustfall>.

⁸⁹ Niren Tolsi, "Justice restores the dignity of the poor," *Mail&Guardian*, May 29, 2015, Accessed on November 21, 2015, <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-05-29-00-justice-restores-the-dignity-of-the-poor>.

prioritizing the economic rights that MK operatives fought for while in exile. Reforming the constitution that does not offer as many social services is a less auspicious option as it will only increase the citizenry's perceptions that the government is trying to avoid providing the promised economic rights. Re-creating the government entirely is, as I see it, the final option, which is not desirable nor practical. Nonetheless, this option should be mentioned solely for the potential reality that a neglected, disgruntled citizenry may try to overthrow a government that is perceived to ignore its Constitutional creed. Whichever option the government decides to pursue, something must change in order to renew the public's faith in the government's commitment to the values set forth in the Constitution of the twenty-one year old democracy.

ANC politicians and the general South African population needs to remember the leftist economic ideals for which the MK operatives and the ANC fought for while in exile. Although the top government advisors may not believe in liberalist policies, a large welfare state is the best option to maintain the people's faith in the still young democracy. The ANC may have to run a New Deal- or Great Society-like program to fund these Constitutionally-entrenched values through deficit spending, however, deficit spending is a lesser evil than a democracy with little perceived interest in its own Constitution. The people of South Africa need to play their role by supporting the students, shack dwellers, and other protesters. These protesters are fighting for the same ideals that infiltrated ANC policy during the Freedom Charter and continued to be incubated within the ANC in exile through communist and leftist influence on the armed struggle. All of South Africa needs to recall the values that MK operatives prioritized throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Only then can the country move in unison towards the ideals that Mandela set forth in "a Constitution that entrenches humane rights and values."

Part 3: “The Violent Political Conflict in the Course of which Human Rights were Violated”

Towards the end of his speech on the TRC report, Mandela stated that “In denying us [basic rights] the Apartheid State generated the violent political conflict in the course of which human rights were violated.” The passive use of “were violated” demonstrates Mandela’s apprehension in naming groups or individuals as the perpetrators of violence. Such careful wording is just one example of Mandela and the ANC’s hesitation to say anything that may disturb the careful balance of nonracialism and peace amidst a sore population. To avoid extending the violence from the apartheid era into the new democracy, the ANC created a narrative that downplayed the significance of violent anti-apartheid resistance and avoided any mention of agency for past violence, which created a nationwide lack of empathy to listen and heal the scars of apartheid.

The popular historical narrative blends Mohandas Gandhi and Luthuli’s adherence to nonviolence with Mandela’s alleged personal ideologies to promote an image of Mandela as a leader committed to a righteous path of nonviolent resistance. Both Gandhi and Luthuli maintained nonviolent, passive resistance was the most moral and practical method to fight against unjust institutions. UKZN Associate Professor Goolam Vahed said that the popular narrative tends to link Gandhi and Luthuli with Mandela with a common, shared ideology on nonviolence. This link makes the narrative of Mandela “a feel good story” and further justifies that he is “a hero that we can look up to.”⁹⁰ In reality, a young Mandela did not support nonviolence, but repudiated both of these men’s views when he indicated in 1962 that the

⁹⁰ Vahed, Goolam. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 12, 2015.

continuance of Satyagraha in South Africa “was a crime against the people.”⁹¹ Young Mandela’s distaste for nonviolent resistance propelled his decision to form Umkhonto we Sizwe and create the armed struggle that inflicted violence on the apartheid government and the South African population for three decades.⁹² Unfortunately, many South Africans are unaware of Mandela’s involvement in violent opposition to apartheid, as a conversation with several young men from Soweto revealed that they all believed Mandela adhered strictly to nonviolence and praises him for doing so.⁹³ These young men, all high school graduates, are prime examples of how the South African population exalts Mandela as a hero, but has muddled his beliefs with those of Gandhi and Luthuli.

Mandela’s exoneration of guilt from involvement in violence resistance allows the ANC to make the democracy’s first president into a role model for the country’s angry and aching citizens not to peacefully forgive the sins of apartheid. Historian Scott Couper argues that we should be wary of the politically-motivated narrative of Luthuli’s alleged support for the launch of MK in 1961 because “Politicians have their own agendas and thus a heightened bias when remembering and articulating a perceived history.”⁹⁴ South African citizens should apply the same scrutiny to the narrative of Mandela’s commitment to nonviolence. South Africans may tend to hold up Mandela as the “living legacy” and “mould” of Gandhi, but it is important to

⁹¹ Couper, “‘But Let Us Remember Him Then and Never Forget...’ - The Dilution of Satyagraha in South Africa,” 25&16.

⁹² MK did not intentionally target civilians until the mid-1980s. By 1985, the ANC eliminated the distinction between “hard” and “soft” targets during the Kabwe conference, which encouraged MK cadres to lay land mines along the border areas of the Northern Transvaal. The mines allegedly targeted white farmers (two were injured), and on November 28, the ANC’s Radio Freedom described those same mines as a warning to white South Africans that similar attacks would soon become “the order of the day.” (Ellis, *Anc in Exile*, 224) While MK did its best to avoid harming civilians before 1985, there is still a legacy of pain caused by lost jobs, property damage, and abuses within the internal structures of MK - as MK cadres often faced brutal conditions, corporal punishment, and more.

⁹³ Khoza, Aphiwe. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 20, 2015.

⁹⁴ Couper, “‘An Embarrassment to the Congresses?’: The Silencing of Chief Albert Luthuli and the Production of ANC History,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* (2009), 35:2, 344.

consider the political implications attached to advocating for this description.⁹⁵ Since the ANC's years in exile, the ANC has held up the founder of its armed wing as a symbol of perseverance and commitment to forming a nonracial democracy for South Africa. For Mandela to be freed after 27 years in prison and advocate for a nonviolent reconciliation between the country's stratified races is testament to the veracity of this depiction of Mandela. The idea of a man overcoming such hardship to want only what is best for the country has inspired South Africans of all races to forgive the pains of apartheid littered throughout their own personal histories and seek a peaceful transition to reconciliation. Mandela, a man scarred by 27 years of imprisonment, has become his scarred country's paragon of the maturity necessary to see past the residual afflictions of its violent history and envision a brighter, nonviolent future.

By overlooking Mandela's own agency as a cause of violence as the founder of MK, the overlooked narrative of Mandela's support of violent action stymies the nationwide process of communal healing by making whites reluctant to acknowledge their agency as well. Whether MK was justified in using violence to overthrow the apartheid government is irrelevant to this argument. The point is that by deciding to form MK, Mandela chose to become an active participant in the cycle of violence in apartheid South Africa. That violence caused people pain via the loss of loved ones, personal injury, or damaged property.. The residual pain and anger of MK attacks lingers to this day, as MK "is still a symbol of antistatic terror for many whites."⁹⁶ The pain that MK caused still lingers to this day, and, according to Dr. Marshall Rosenberg, that pain needs to be acknowledged and empathized with before those wounds can heal. By failing to recognize the founder's agency in MK's violent resistance, Mandela's narrative contradicts the

⁹⁵ Couper, "'But Let Us Remember Him Then and Never Forget...' - The Dilution of Satyagraha in South Africa," 23.

⁹⁶ Hues, "Mandela the Terrorist," 86.

man's own message to heal the wounds of the past through acknowledgement and empathy via the TRC. Mandela the man thanked "the hundreds who dared to open the wounds of guilt so as to exorcise it from the nation's body politic," even though many whites still feel frustrated that the narrative does not acknowledge Mandela's involvement in MK.⁹⁷ An Afrikaner teacher articulated this frustration by saying that textbooks "won't say for instance, when Nelson Mandela... planted bombs, at Johannesburg station, they will say, there were bombs planted, but they won't state how many whites were killed."⁹⁸ The narrative of Mandela should be rewritten to include his complicity in violent acts in order to juxtapose a younger, more radical Mandela with the well-known, mature Mandela to show that he regretted the suffering that the ANC's armed struggle inflicted.⁹⁹ By offering Mandela as a symbol of the maturity to seek forgiveness *and* repentance, his image could inspire a more honest debate for South Africans to come forward and admit the mistakes of the past.

By not acknowledging enough citizens' personal stories from apartheid, the TRC has left many citizens with feelings of residual anger that push them further from the ideal of a rainbow nation. In 1998, the same year that Mandela reported on the findings of the TRC report, a South African learner reported that engaging with the apartheid past can make "[they and their classmates] think of revenge on white people." That students classmates advocated that "we must forget history" because talking about these things "makes pain for other people and their

⁹⁷"Statement by President Mandela on receiving the report of the TRC," <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3072>.

⁹⁸ Hues, "Mandela the Terrorist," 86.

⁹⁹ This is different than regretting forming MK. MK played a significant role in the liberation movement, and I am not trying to argue that the casualties of the ANC's armed struggle make it immoral or unjustifiable. Rather, I am saying that the pain caused by the armed struggle should be acknowledged as an undesirable repercussion of the anti-apartheid movement and a painful history for a part of the country's populace.

families.”¹⁰⁰ Rosenberg offers a method to assuage these students’ anger when he writes that the “ability to offer empathy to people in stressful situations can defuse potential violence.”¹⁰¹

Unfortunately, it appears that these learners are trying to move past the empathy process and move straight for nonviolent reconciliation. Several of them attributed their conflicting emotions on whether to study history to a desire to realize the national narrative’s promoted value of reconciliation, stating that they must “make peace in our land,” “think of the future,” and “put [history] in the past and plan for the future.”¹⁰² All of these learners want to achieve the goals of reconciliation through nonviolence, but are doing so at the expense of their own need to be heard and empathized with. In other words, without an adequate platform to tell their narratives or reparations to compensate for their losses, the South African population has not yet healed enough to fully embrace the ideas of *ubuntu* or the rainbow nation. Due to a lack of proper empathy - in the form of either attentive listening or reparations - the government is asking its citizens to individually come to terms with their painful past. This has caused many citizens, like these learners, to attempt to forget history because the anger the past makes them feel pushes them further from the national goal of a nonviolent, reconciliated country.

In order to address the wounds of the past, the ANC must reopen the TRC to allow its citizens to voice their grievances and heal the pain and anger left over from the apartheid era. Vahed states that the TRC did not “give time to allow people to give their narratives properly.”¹⁰³ Vahed is not alone in this thinking - as he heard on the radio that Kwame Nkrumah has started an

¹⁰⁰ Wendon, “A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa,” 160-1.

¹⁰¹ “Extracts from Marshall Rosenberg books: “Nonviolent Communication: A language of life”, accessed November 19, 2015: 53, <http://www.ayahuasca-wasi.com/english/articles/NVC.pdf>.

¹⁰² Wendon, “A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa,” 160-1.

¹⁰³ Vahed, Goolam. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 12, 2015.

organization that wants to reopen the TRC and bring up the topic of reparations because people “want to get back from their losses, they are not interested in ideas of *ubuntu* or the rainbow nation. They want something from which they will benefit.”¹⁰⁴ Considering that the TRC was too brief to fully heal the lingering animosity and anger leftover from apartheid, the country needs to revisit the method to offer empathy to its citizens that did not have their voices heard sufficiently. Listening will not be enough, however, and the country should look into compensating the victims of apartheid reparations for their losses as a symbolic gesture that modern-day South Africa empathizes with the pains of its citizenry. Only after the wounds of apartheid have been sufficiently healed can the nation, as a whole, move towards the ideals of *ubuntu* and becoming a rainbow nation.

South Africa also needs to tear down the monuments and relics of apartheid to destroy the tangible legacy of apartheid. Wendon writes that the “history curriculum had not followed the predictable course evident in other post-conflict societies, such as Eastern Europe, of denouncing the past.”¹⁰⁵ One way that South Africa has not done this is by preserving homages and monuments honoring the white supremacy of the past. TRC survivors reported feeling uncomfortable that many public institutions and national symbols still derive their name or likeness from apartheid’s past.¹⁰⁶ TRC survivors support changing the names of streets and buildings, along with tearing down as a symbolic reparation to eliminate any symbolic

¹⁰⁴ Vahed, Goolam. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 12, 2015.

¹⁰⁵ Wendon, “A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa,” 179.

¹⁰⁶ “Survivors’ Perceptions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Suggestions for the Final Report,” The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation & the Khulumani Support Group, accessed November 23, 2015, <http://web.archive.org/web/20060925181412/http://www.csvr.org.za/papers/papkhul.htm>.

glorification of apartheid's past. The government should heed their advice and remove any remnants of past glorification for the oppressive regime.

Before the TRC can be reopened, the ANC must alter its own national narrative to acknowledge Mandela's participation in an armed struggle that caused pain, which will encourage others to start an honest conversation that considers all narratives about the violent past of apartheid. In order to fully acknowledge the pains of the past, the ANC must make room to acknowledge the pains caused by both South Africa's most revered citizen and the glorified political party he represents. No longer can the ANC passively claim that human rights "were violated" by violence during the apartheid era. The ANC must embrace the role that Mandela and MK played in violating human rights, regardless of whether it were for a just cause. Only by acknowledging the full lists of perpetrators that contributed to "the violent political conflict in the course of which human rights were violated" can the country empathize with and understand the suffering felt by its citizenry.

Conclusion

Way back in 1998, Mandela could never have foreseen the future trajectory of his beloved country. As he rebuked the human rights abuses of the apartheid past, he could never have seen how those same mistakes would carry on into the present day through several unacknowledged narratives from the armed struggle he had created. The narrative of Mandela's triumph overlooks a significant portion of South African history - all buried in the history of the ANC's armed struggle. Those narratives have yet to be fully acknowledged, and those underlying tensions still remain.

The current narrative forgets the failed launch of the armed struggle, the leftist economic policies fostered by communist allies, and the casualties of MK. Remembering the failed launch of the armed struggle can provide black people, specifically black learners, more black role models by putting more emphasis on the contributions of black leaders other than Mandela. Remembering the communist influence on the formation and policies of MK can help politicians remember the values the MK operatives fought for and which are currently grounded within constitutional rhetoric. Finally, remembering that Mandela did not always support nonviolence can help South African citizens both admit their own violent tendencies and forgive the past violence of their fellow citizens.

South Africa has come a long way since 1948. The new democracy has started to treat its people with the humanity that apartheid had always denied them. Still, there are many lingering symptoms of the past with which South Africans are still grappling. A good first step would be for the country to realize the goal of what Mandela attempted to do through the TRC: acknowledging a more holistic version of history. Specifically, the nation needs to remember the full story of the ANC's armed struggle that Mandela launched in 1961.

Conclusions

The popular narrative of the ANC's armed struggle has been too narrow to completely direct the country towards becoming a nonracial, reconciled nation with entrenched Constitutional values. Several strands of history have been neglected by the narrative of the armed struggle, which causes the government and the citizens to overlook crucial storylines that are still playing out today. Formal education must embrace a wider array of black leaders to instill young, black learners with a sense of pride in their blackness. ANC politicians must remember the roots of their political party that created a leftist Constitution, which is being neglected by current neoliberal economic policies. Finally, the nation should remember Mandela's decision to form MK, a movement that left behind casualties on its path to freedom, in order to create him into a diverse role model that can inspire black Africans to forgive the pains of apartheid and encourage Whites to ask for forgiveness. A more inclusive narrative of Mandela and the armed struggle he created are imperative to aiding the efforts of modern-day reformers that wish to realize the goals that Mandela set forth in the 1998 report on the TRC.

Remembering South Africa's roots can help the politicians and the voters remember that their desired national identity is to become a reconciled, nonracial society that ensures everyone has humane rights. This identity has been historically tied to a political allegiance to the ANC, however, the ANC has strayed from the economic policies it supported during the anti-apartheid movement. This shift in policy has forced South Africans to choose between whether to stay allied to the ANC as a symbol of liberation or the goals of the liberation movement itself. The future of South Africa may very well require a revision of its identity as well as a revision of its

history. With political allegiances already shifting away from the ANC, the ANC will either have to return to its past for answers, or another party will emerge with which South Africans can identify.

Limitations

This paper's greatest limitations are the short timeframe allowed to collect data and the small number of formal interviews. Given more time to accumulate data, this project could have addressed each strand of the armed struggle's forgotten history with more depth and precision. Also a factor of time, I wish that I had been able to contact more MK veterans, free-borns, and historians to interview about their understandings of the past, political ideologies, and beliefs on what it means to be South African. In addition to more interviews, a greater amount of time would have allowed me to survey large swathes of certain South African demographics to produce original analysis on South Africans' awareness of their recent history and its modern implications. This data could then be categorized to study how race, age, class, and anti-apartheid involvement influence South Africans' remembrances of and reflections on the past.

I should also acknowledge my own personal biases. Much of my criticism against GEAR and South Africa's neoliberal policies stem from my identity as a progressive liberal raised in the Bay Area, California. I am not a communist, I am an American and as an American the idea of being a communist is anathema. I support several socialist economic policies, but am also not a socialist. My ideological allegiance falls with Keynesian economics, a predominantly private economy with appropriate government intervention.

Recommendations

The information gathered from Louise Colvin, Aphiwe Khoza, and informally from young men in Soweto has been enlightening. If I had a longer period of time to research this project, I would interview more former-MK operatives and more free-borns. I would be interested to see how many former-MK operatives have remained faithful to the ANC, how many have decided to boycott the party, and what policies have shaped their decisions. I would ask freeborns similar questions about their party allegiance and the ANC policies that they do or do not support. Additionally, I would like to conduct surveys in local secondary schools and universities to get a broader understanding of free-borns' awareness of the history of the armed struggle and the anti-apartheid movement as a whole.

There should also be a deeper study into South Africans' idolization of Mandela. Historians should sift through archival data, oral testimonies, and interview remaining family members. Although there have been dozens of books written about Mandela, I find it troubling that one narrative emerges as so dominant. There should be competing ideas and open debates surrounding contributions of any historical figure of equal importance. To dethrone the narrative of Mandela as a nonviolent reconciler is not intended to defame him, but rather to honor his memory more fully by embracing the complexities of his life and character.

Furthermore, there should be more research into the history of reconciling a newly-formed country after a revolution. Freedom fighters have fought to overthrow oppressive regimes in all continents of the world, save Antarctica, and South Africa should be looked at as a case study of the transition a country must go through to establish itself relatively nonviolently. The history of South Africa's TRC should be compared to other African countries' attempts at

reconciliation and reparations to see which processes have heralded the most successful transitions. Additionally, these transition processes should be compared with those from other continents to gain insight on the cultural factors that may influence a population's willingness to accept a new regime.

Bibliography

- “A people's history of the American revolution,” Howard Zinn, accessed October 28, 2015, <https://libcom.org/history/peoples-history-american-revolution>.
- “Defiance Campaign 1952,” South African History Online, accessed October 28, 2015, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/defiance-campaign-1952>.
- “Extracts from Marshall Rosenberg books: “Nonviolent Communication: A language of life”, accessed November 19, 2015: 48-53, <http://www.ayahuasca-wasi.com/english/articles/NVC.pdf>.
- “South Africa,” last modified on May 28, 2015, accessed on November 21, 2015, <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/country-notes/southern-africa/south-africa/>.
- “Statement by President Mandela on receiving the report of the TRC,” last modified 2011, <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3072>.
- “Survivors’ Perceptions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Suggestions for the Final Report,” The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation & the Khulumani Support Group, accessed November 23, 2015, <http://web.archive.org/web/20060925181412/http://www.csvr.org.za/papers/papkhul.htm>.
- “The Constitution,” <http://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/SACConstitution-web-eng.pdf>.
- “Voter participation in the South African elections of 2014,” Collette Schulz-Herzenberg, accessed October 27, 2015: 1-8, https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/PolBrief61_Aug14.pdf.
- Allister Sparks, *Beyond the Miracle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- Aelred Stubbs C.R., *I Write What I Like* (Randsburg: Ravan Press 1996), 29.
- Bongani Nkosi, “#FeesMustFall takes fight to Union Buildings,” *Mail&Guardian*, October 23, 2015, accessed November 21, 2015, <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-10-23-sas-students-take-on-union-buildings>.
- Colvin, Louise. Interview by Will Corvin. Personal Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 11, 2015.
- Gail Wendon, “A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa” (PhD diss, University of Pretoria, 2009): 88-190.

Gcwelumusa Chrysostomus Khwela, "The Clausewitzian and Heuristic Evolution of the ANC's Armed Struggle: A Dependent Pillar of the South African Revolution," *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies* 30 (2000): 311, accessed November 15, 2015,

<http://scientiamilitaria.journals.ac.za/pub>.

Henning Hues, "Mandela the Terrorist," *Journal of educational media, memory, and society* 3 (2011): 74-95.

Jabulani Sithole and Sibongiseni Mkhize, "Truth or Lies? Selective Memories, Imaginings, and Representations of Chief Albert John Luthuli in Recent Political Discourses," *History and Theory* 39 (December 2000): 69-85.

Jeremy Seekings, "Trade unions, social policy & class compromise in post-apartheid South Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*, 31 (2004): 100, 299 — 312.

John Braithwaite, "Limits on Violence; Limits on Responsive Regulatory Theory," *University of Denver: Law and Policy* 36 (2014): 432-456,

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/turing.library.northwestern.edu/store/10.1111/lapo.12026/asset/lapo12026.pdf?v=1&t=ig1zx3c2&s=945c266b7299f8493887f1216b98ac3252abd0c8>.

Khoza, Aphiwe. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 12, 2015.

Khoza, Aphiwe. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 20, 2015.

Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (United States of America: Yale Nota Bene, 2001).

Nederman, Cary J.. 1984. Review of *Democratic Socialism: Theory and Practice*. *The American Political Science Review* 78 (3). [American Political Science Association, Cambridge University Press]: 882–83.

Niren Tolsi, "Justice restores the dignity of the poor," *Mail&Guardian*, May 29, 2015, Accessed on November 21, 2015,

<http://mg.co.za/article/2015-05-29-00-justice-restores-the-dignity-of-the-poor>.

Nelson Mandela, *A Long Walk to Freedom* (Unpublished Manuscript, 1975).

Patrick McGroarty, "South Africa to Put Nelson Mandela on Its Money," *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 11, 2012, Accessed November 19, 2015,

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970203646004577216902698941744>.

Philippe Denis, "Oral History in a Wounded Country," in *Orality Literacy and Colonialism in Southern Africa*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper. (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2003), 205-216.

Scott Couper, "'An Embarrassment to the Congresses?': The Silencing of Chief Albert Luthuli and the Production of ANC History,'" *Journal of Southern African Studies* (2009), 35:2, 331 — 348.

Scott Couper, "'But Let Us Remember Him Then and Never Forget...' - The Dilution of Satyagraha in South Africa," *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* (2013), accessed October 27, 2015: 1-25, <http://www.kznass-history.net/files/seminars/Couper2013.pdf>.

Steven Ellis, *External Mission: The ANC in Exile* (Jeppestown: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2012).

Stephen Ellis, "Reviewed Work: '*Armed and Dangerous*': *My Undercover Struggle against Apartheid* by Ronnie Kasrils," review of '*Armed and Dangerous*': *My Undercover Struggle against Apartheid*, by Ronnie Kasrils, Cambridge University Press, 1994, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*,

http://www.jstor.org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/stable/1161389?origin=crossref&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents.

The Historian Editorial Staff, "Book Reviews," review of *The First President: A Life of John L. Dube, Founding President of the ANC*, by Heather Hughes, *The Historian*, 2015, 317-319, http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/doi/10.1111/hisn.12062_3/epdf.

Vahed, Goolam. Interview by Will Corvin. Phone Interview. Durban, South Africa, Nov. 12, 2015.

Verashni Pillay, "'Vote No', say ANC veterans at campaign launch," *Mail&Guardian*, April 15, 2014, accessed November 21, 2015,

<http://mg.co.za/article/2014-04-15-vote-no-say-anc-veterans-at-campaign-launch/>.

Appendices

Appendix A: Louise Colvin Interview Questions

1. What is your name and how do you spell it?
2. What is your official title?
3. What was your role within Umkhonto we Sizwe?
4. How many years were you active in MK?
5. Are you still active with the ANC?
6. Are you satisfied with the current ANC government?
7. How important were the contributions of MK to the liberation movement?
8. In hindsight, what should MK have done differently?
9. Were you aware of communist influence on MK or the ANC during your time in exile?
10. How often was Mandela referenced or mentioned while he was imprisoned?
11. What do you think most free-borns know about the armed struggle?
12. What should they realize about MK that they do not?
13. Is there anything else that you would like to add?
14. Is there anyone else that I should talk to?
15. Is there anything you would like to say to me?

Appendix B: Dr. Goolam Vahed Interview Questions

1. What is your official title?
2. How do important revolutionary figures, like Gandhi, tend to get mythologized?
3. What purpose does this mythologization serve?
4. Why is it important to see our heroes in their entirety?
5. Has the TRC done enough to address the overlooked personal narratives of apartheid?
6. Is there anything else you'd like to add?
7. Is there anything that you would like to ask me?

Appendix C: Aphiwe Khoza Interview Questions

1. What is your official title?

2. What political party do you support?
3. What do you like or dislike about that party?
4. How old are you?
5. How does the history of the anti-apartheid struggle influence your party allegiance?
6. How big of a role did the ANC play in the liberation movement?
7. What were the main methods of the ANC in exile (nonviolent, violent, etc.)?
8. What role did Mandela play within the ANC in exile?
9. Where did you learn all this information?
10. Is there anything else that you would like to add?
11. Is there anyone else that I should talk to?

